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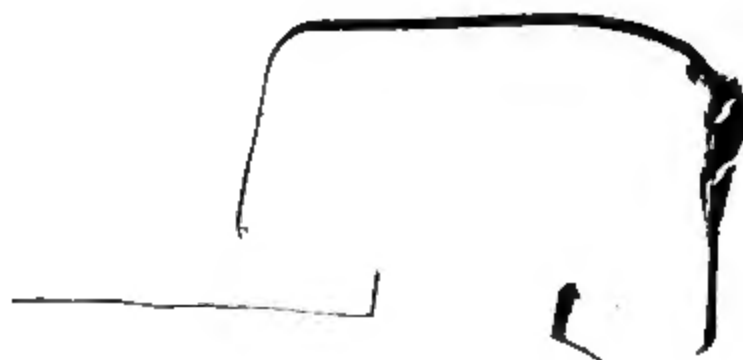
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INTRODUCTION

say that where Herodotus gives most local detail he is least assailable. The story of Marathon is very briefly told, and it has been left for moderns to fill in what was lacking or explain what brevity makes obscure ; but the full and detailed description of Thermopylae is verifiable to-day. Of course one cannot argue with certainty from such instances to the credibility of everything. But they are at least encouraging ; and make any candid reader, in respect of those parts of the narrative where Herodotus is the sole witness, incline rather to belief in the first of historians than in those who would reconstruct history on the precarious basis of *a priori* probability.

HERODOTUS
BOOK V

HERODOTUS

παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεῖτε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεε
χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.

45. Ταῦτα δὲ οὗτοι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τού-
των ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν
τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἔοντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κραθῖν,
τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα
λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ· τοῦτο δὲ
αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον
ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων
διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ' ὃ
δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίηε, εἴλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώραν
καὶ ἔλων κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ
διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύσι
Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτω-
νιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο
οἱ Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι, Δωριεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος
ἀπογόνουσι οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ
Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ
πολλαπλήσια ἢ Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι
αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὅκο-
τέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοισι προσχωρέειν.

46. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται
Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ
Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ
στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέν-
τες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἑγεσταίων· μῦθος δὲ
Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου
τοῦ πάθους. συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς
τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινώην τὴν Σελινουσίων
ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίου τοῦ
μουνάρχου Πειθαγόρεω. μετὰ δὲ ὥς τοῦτον
κατεῖλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινούντος

BOOK VI

καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιήν τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι.

135. Μιλτιάδης μέν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἔξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμῶν Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίῃ τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσονται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναί οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα.

136. Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι οἷ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν, ὡς ἐλὼν Λήμνόν τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις, Μιλτιάδης μὲν

BOOK VII

Η

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίησε καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλεις ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιήν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσεων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περι-αγγελλομένων ἢ Ἀσίῃ ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

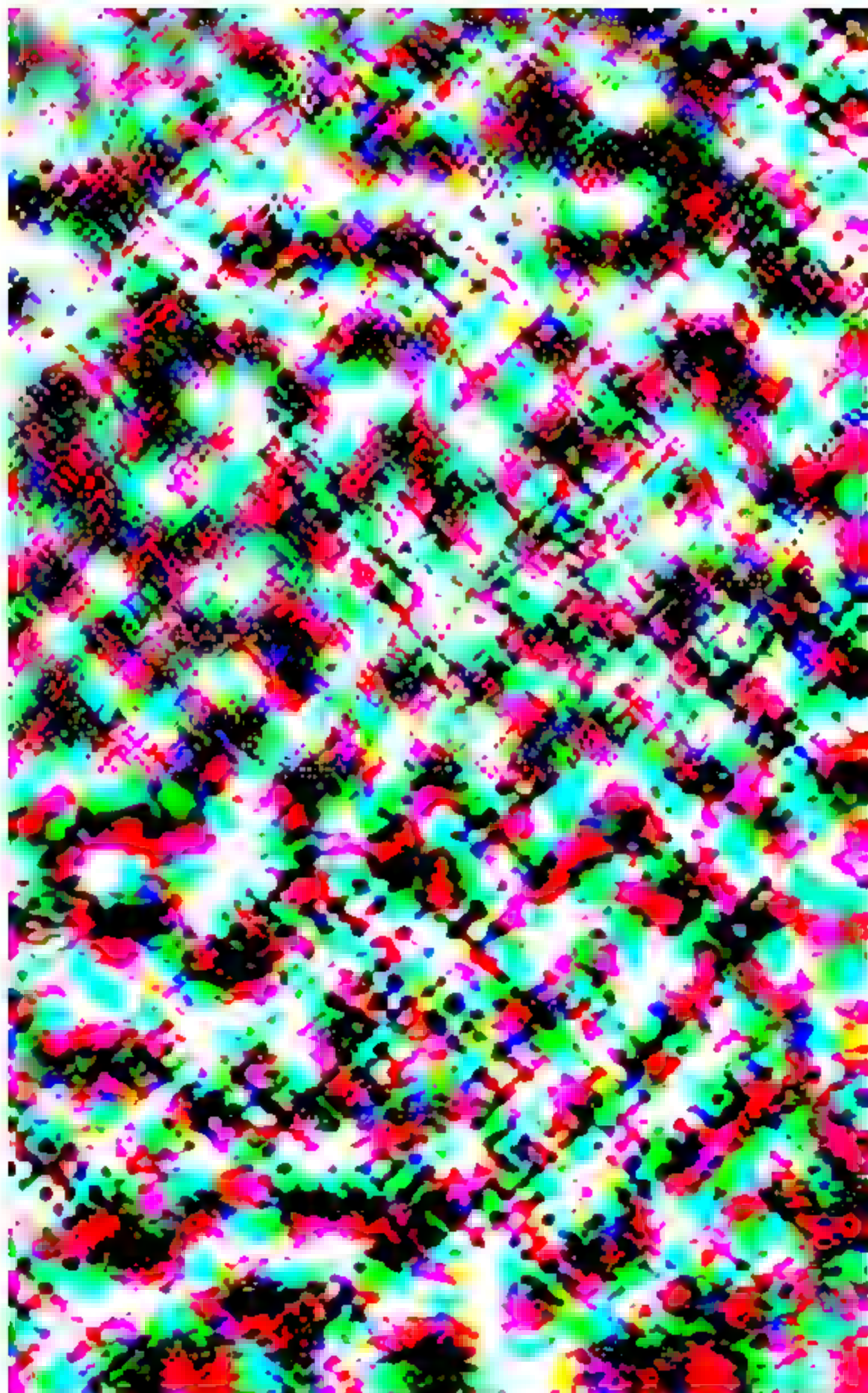
2. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεῦσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς

4. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Ξέρξης Δαρείος ὀρμᾶτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον, Δασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτη, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπευτεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρῆσθαι.

5. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληὶα ἀνεχωρήσθη εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς κινούμενος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγεσθαι. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Μαρδονίου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων "Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἶκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐκπολεμεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐκ ἐκείνη ἄτην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ἐκείνη κρήσσοις τὰ περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυροῦς, καὶ τις ὑστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι." οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρὸς τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέεσθαι τήνδε, ὥς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλῆς εἴη χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλείῃ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.

6. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς εἶναι καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὥστε

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BOOK VII. 142-143

and departed back to Athens. So when the messengers had left Delphi and laid the oracle before the people, there was much enquiry concerning its meaning, and there were two contrary opinions in especial among the many that were uttered. Some of the elder men said that the god's answer signified that the acropolis should be saved; for in old time the acropolis of Athens had been fenced by a thorn hedge, and by their interpretation it was this fence that was the wooden wall. But others supposed that the god signified their ships, and they were for doing nought else but equip these. They then that held their ships to be the wooden wall were disabled by the two last verses of the priestess' answer:

Salamis, isle divine! 'tis writ that children of
women

Thou shalt destroy one day, in the season of seed-
time or harvest.

These verses confounded the opinion of those who said that their ships were the wooden wall; for the readers of oracles took the verses to mean, that they should offer battle by sea near Salamis and be there overthrown.

143. Now there was a certain Athenian, by name and title Themistocles son of Neocles, who had lately risen to be among their chief men. He said, that the readers of oracles had not rightly interpreted the whole; and this was his plea: had the verse been verily spoken of the Athenians, the oracle had used a word less mild of import, and had called Salamis rather "cruel" than "divine," if indeed the dwellers in that place were in it and for it to perish; nay (said he), rightly understood, the god's oracle

HERODOTUS

οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων δεύτερα ἔπεμπον εἰς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἐωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε. πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δέ, καὶ μαθόντες ὥς σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃ, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους εἰς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὥς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιεέουσι γενέσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἑξαμυριάδας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα πέμπειν. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε.

ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,
εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα
σαώσει.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους εἰς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι ποιεέειν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπείσάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης. καίτοι κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι.

149. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνα-

¹ In the battle of Tiryns, 494 ; cp. VI. 77.

² That is, those with full citizenship, the nucleus of the population ; σῶμα being the remainder.

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